

1414
A SECOND

A LETTER

FROM A

FREE CITIZEN

OF

DUBLIN,

TO A

FREEHOLDER

IN THE

County of ARMAGH.

By the AUTHOR of the FIRST.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED in the YEAR, MDCCLIII.

[Price Three-pence.]

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What is it, they say, that this Fellow would
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be at the expense of some European Power, it must

DEAR FRANK,

IN this very modish and conforming Age,
Whoever sets out to check the Course of
any Vice, or to stem the Current of any
Custom, is looked upon as a *Quixote* in Mo-
rals or Politics, a *Righter of Wrongs*, a *Redresser*
of Injuries, an *Encounterer of Windmills*, and a
Champion for that *distressed Damsel* called *Virtue*,
whom the *Giants of this World* have, time im-
memorial,

memorial, held immured from all Intercourse in
the Castle of Power.

I acknowledge, my good Friend, with an humbled Heart, that I have been more than once the *Coxcomb* described: But the Experience of many Foils and Misadventures, with some recent Bruises, of which I am not yet recovered, these Things, I say, have at length convinced me, that I am not the happy *Knight* whom Heaven hath reserved for the Rescue of that same *unfortunate Lady*.

A M O R T

On these, and such like mature Considerations, I have for some Time past, remised and quit Claim to any Inheritance or Acquisition whatever, which I might whilom have pretended among the Children of Reformation; and I cannot, therefore, but wonder, what this Kingdom should mean by the Clamour which it hath raised against my former Letter to you on the depending Election.

What is it, they cry, that this Fellow would be at? can't he, and be P——x to him, let the World waddle on in its own old Way? If he dreams of some *Utopia* in *Terra Australis*, it must, no doubt, be extremely expedient that we should All equip out our Shipping directly, and set Sail on the Credit of this Puppy's Report. Shall no Man tread but in his Trammels? Let him confine his Meditations to his own Den, and be d——m'd, and leave the Public to pray their proper Way in the D——I's Name.

Now,

Now, with all Manner of Deference and Respect duly premised to my much honoured and imperial Lord the Public, I cannot, with my best Recollection, conceive, from what present Offence of mine this mighty Wrath hath arisen.

I am sure my Preachment was altogether innocent of any Attempt toward Innovation in Church or in State. I am not the Person of that Assurance they take me for. I neither dropt a single Syllable by the way of Introduction of *Talents to Employment*, or *Integrity to Trust*. Did I once take upon me to dictate or recommend *Moderation to Party*, or *Humility to Station*, or *Gratitude to Grandeur*, or *Piety to young Parsons*, or *Honesty to old Politicians*, or a Tincture of *Humanity to the Exercise of Power*?

This, indeed, might be the Doctrine of *Saint Anthony to the Fishes*, the Elocution of an *Orator to the Deaf* and the *Dumb*.

No, *Frank*, if Corruption, like a Mist, should spread the Face of this Nation, that Man must be a *Coxcomb* of consummate Presumption, who should undertake, by the Efficacy of his single Breath, to dispel so malignant and universal a Vapour.

I believe I might have advised you, as well as I remember, against the *Sile* of your Country, and the *Sacrifice* of your Posterity, with some Matters held to be equally trivial; but if a Word or two concerning *Conscience* slipped from me, this must

must have happened wholly beside my Intention ; or perhaps I might imagine that People of your Simplicity had not yet got the better of such *vulgar Prejudices*, by mixing with the Bravery of polite and high Life.

If I was mistaken in this Conjecture, my Error is yet pardonable; as I shall press you no further with so enfeebled an Argument. However, if *Honesty* and *Integrity* are now only *Chimeras*, or the *dying Echoes of Words*, that once surely had a Meaning ; *Interest*, Frank, *Interest* will yet be allowed by all Persons and by all Parties its full *Weight* and *Reality*.

The Privilege of Election for Representatives in Parliament, is, by ancient Tenure, by right Reason, and by the Laws of this Land, as truly the Property of every Freeholder, as his Park, when well fenced and highly hedged against Encroachment ; and any Man living who would violate the Enclosure, should be equally repelled as a Trespasser or a Felon.

Our good and glorious Ancestors bequeathed us this Inheritance, as a Chest, which contained all our Claims and Possessions, every Treasure worth Retention, every Pearl of any Lustre or Price upon Earth ; they barred it with our Charters, they locked it with our Laws, and into our Hands they committed the Keys, against King, and Ministers, and Privy Counsellors, and Peerage, and Parliaments, and Landlords, and all *Kinds of Invasion*.

If

If you regard not your Posterity as you were regarded by those your great Forefathers, if Conscience is of no Consideration among you, and that your Country should be held but as the Dust in the Balance; reflect, yet, for your own Sakes, feel, my Countrymen, for yourselves, reclaim your own Interests, retain your own Properties, assert your own Rights, and quit not whatever you can hold or hope for, by quitting this cardinal Hook, on which they all do depend.

Did I liken your illustrious Property in Elections to so vulgar a Tenure as that of a Field? the Comparison was infinitely poor and unequal. It is rather like the ancient Garden of the *Hesperides*, ever blooming with all the golden Vegetation that Liberty, Plenty and Peace can yield, and your own Interest should be as a sleepless *Dragon*, to guard and keep inviolate so precious a Fruit.

But, O, that my Fears may be falsely prophetic! that this your ancient Heritage, once so glorious in Privileges, once so rich in Possessions, may never be justly likened to Man's original *Eden*, where the *Devil* Temptation, under the Appearance and Profession of an Angel, got Entrance, and held up his Lure to the Greediness of Appetite, and through Lust introduced universal Corruption, and thence swept the Proprietors with all their Posterity from that their divine Holding and Inheritance, for ever.

Should

Should some Native of these Lands, some Wretch in his Travels given up to Captivity, by a happy Reverse of Fortune, once more be restored, from the Bitterness of Bondage, and Nakedness, and Want, and Hardship, and Insult, and Stripes, and Revilings; to Liberty, and Property, and Affluence, and Ease, the Security of Laws, the Sweetness of Society, the Fondness of Friendship, and the Feelings of Family: With what Exultings would he tread, with what Triumph look around, with what Delightfulness inhale the very Air of Freedom! how would he prize and cherish, and lock within his Heart the smallest Portion of that Blessedness which Lust, Wantonness, and Folly so lightly esteem.

Heat and Cold, Light and Darkness, are not so strongly contrasted as the two opposite States above described, they are all that we can feel or conceive upon Earth of the Nature and Difference of Heaven and Hell; and yet these wide Extremes of *Slavery* and *Liberty*, so laden with *Misery*, so laden with *Happiness*, do wholly subsist in this simple Distinction, that—there—*unlimited Power dictates Law to the People*, that—here—*the People by Law give Limitation to Power*.

So immense is the Concern, so weighty is the Trust reposed upon the Truth of every Freeholder, since it is from * the *Merit of Electors* alone that the *Merit of Laws* can possibly arise.

With

With respect to the political OEconomy of these Kingdoms, it is asserted, and I think with Truth, that our System is the most happily formed of any that hath been planned, since the first Institution of Society among Men. But then it is also insinuated, by some of a whimsical or jocular Cast, that nothing further than the mere *Form* subsists, and that nothing further, indeed, is either requisite or possible.

Thus, say they, in the Nomination of Members for Parliament, there is and ought to be a *Form* of Freedom in Elections; and yet it is fully as expedient, as it is notorious that every *Voter* is considered but as a *Speaking Trumpet*, which lies ready for any Man to clap to his Mouth; Or as the *Oracle of the wooden Ass*, in the Chronicles of Gotham, which brayed forth Words of amazing Sensibility, whose Signification however was conveyed from beneath; or as a Parade of *Puppets* by the ingenious Mr. *Stretch*, where *Wood and Wine* make the Sum total of Freeholders, while the Principals of Voice and Motion lie quite behind the Scenes.

Are these Things so?—And have we then no more than the *Form* of *Liberty* remaining among us? And is even that *Form* allowed to be both *requisite* and *amiable*? But if the very *Shadow*, the bare *Appearance*, the outward *Colouring* of *Liberty* is good and desirable, why not then the *Reality*, why not the *Substance*, why not the *living Essence*, the *Beauty herself*, in all her full *Proportions* and *Inimitable Graces*?

B.

But

But if this *living Beauty* is not in our Possession, if *Liberty*, like the *idolized Ox* of the Egyptians, is either dead, or stolen, or strayed from among us; why do we not, like them, persevere in our Inquiries, till something is found, that may answer the divine Marks and Recognitions thereof?

Or if our Ancestors, like the famous Statuary *Pygmalion*, were able, with all their Labours, to effect no more, than the Bulk and outward Lineaments of that *Liberty* they designed; why do we not proceed, like the aforesaid *Pygmalion*, to caress, cherish, and foster this *Image of Perfection*, till we inform it with that *Warmth*, and *Motion*, and *Life*, that alone can give *Power or Efficacy for Happiness*?

It is, I think, somewhere in a Persian-Tale, where Prince, I know not who, grows enamoured of the Picture of *Bedial-Gemal*. What now was the natural Consequence of this Passion? Does he set up his Rest here, does he sit down contented, could a Picture be the just and ultimate Object of his Wishes?——No surely. He trusts not to Emissaries, he quits Family and Kindred, he traverses Sea and Land in Search of the Original. But, alas!——May the Search of all modern *true Lovers of Liberty* be finally rewarded with better Success! For this Prince, after many Misadventures, discovers, that this his Adorable was long since deceased, that she formerly had been the darling Mistress of *Solomon*, that nothing but her *Shadow* remained to *after*
Ages,

Ages, for that the Substance was only suited to the *Wiseſt of Men*.

As I would leave no Argument unanſwered nor any Objection uncanceled, which can be raiſed againſt the Reality of that Liberty which I preach, I have ſearched, ranſacked, ſifted and ſedulouſly diſcuſſed whatever Ancients or Moderns have obſerved on the Queſtion.

It might, *prima facie*, appear ſtrange, that *Bosſu*, in his critical Diſſertation upon *Noſes*, ſhould reſolve all the Senſes into that of ſmelling; had not *Ariſtotle* laid it down, as his primary Maxim, in his elaborate Treatiſe on *Mundane Revolutions*, that the *Noſe* is to Man as the *Gnomon* to the Dial, which points out, divides, diſtinguiſhes, and leads; to every Action and Movement throughout the Compaſs of Life; and *Pto- lomy*, in that Part of his System, which ſtill reſts unrefuted, hath evinced, from a Number of learned References and additional Proofs, that this Organ is the *Primum-Mobile* of the *Microcoſm* of Man.

From hence is plainly inferred that moral Neceſſity which every one lies under, of, *following his Noſe*.

However, our modern Refiners on Government are by no Means contented, with the natural Uſes, or metaphyſical Applications, or religious Advantages that are made of this *Inſtrument*: They alſo fit it as a *Handle* to all political Machinery, and, by Means thereof, aver, that they

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can turn a Kingdom, with the same Ease, that a Pilot can turn a Ship, by the Means of a Rudder, which they affirm to be the *Nose* of that *Symbol* of the Common-wealth.

Particularly, in the depending Case of Elections, nothing further, they cry, is requisite, for the Policy of this free and happy Nation, than that each Voter should be naturally endowed with a *Nose*, whereby, whether he be Tenant, or Dependant, or Trader, or Debtor, his Landlord, or Superior, or Customer, or Creditor, may gently tweak him, and guide him to the Line of due Direction. This same Master of *Nose*, say they, is the only *Handle*, by which any Order or good Government hath ever been maintained; but if, instead of holding it forth to the Fingers of the Leader, the Owner should salute him with a damned Slap in the Chops, here would be rare Doings! All ancient Custom and right Usage must be overthrown, and nothing should ensue but Anarchy and Confusion.

Now, with respect to the political Convenience of *Noses*, or the frequent Use and Manufacture that hath been made thereof, my Memory supplies but little to object: But, with Respect to the Consequences of the aforesaid Salute, or the Confusion and Anarchy that must necessarily ensue, from such a Slap on the Chops, or a Kick on the Reverse, provided they be administered with Temper and Moderation, such Mischiefs, I affirm, can be but Matter of mere Conjecture, nor can any Man living forecast the Event, until the wondrous Trial shall once be attempted.

For

For my Part, I own myself fond of your Phenomena, and of the Reduction of all Things questionable to Experiment and Proof; and I should most heartily rejoice, to see you the first Country Freeholders in *Ireland*, who shall render yourselves eminent, however singular and blamable, for with-holding this your long invaded *Property of Noles*.

In good old Times; before Corruption was avowed for a Maxim of just Policy; before Statesmen held it necessary to debauch the Honesty of a People, in order to keep them true to their Country and their King: In good old Times, I say; before smilster Influence, and Drunkenness, and Bribery, became the public Procurers of Voices for Parliament; before the Interests of Country, Constitution, and Posterity, became Matter of Sale, and Traffic between Candidates and Constituents. In such good and gracious Times, I repeat it, when Righteousness held the Balance of the Commonwealth aloft, and weighed the Gold of Conscience, and Truth, and Love of Country, against the Brass of Venality, and Prostitution, and Jobb; when Honour was pay'd to Merit as a Debt indefeasible; when the People bowed not down to the Paradeings of Equipage, and a golden Calf was an Idol of no Estimation; when Talents and Integrity made the Distinctions of Men, and the Patriot walked the Streets in a plain and modest Garb, attended by a Train of Blessings and Acclamations; in such old-fashioned Times, it was customary for Electors to meet and consider, what Man was
most

most likely, through his Wisdom and Honesty, to do them Justice and Honour, by representing them in Parliament.

In fixing on a Person so marked and so characterized, they inquired not after Titles, or Family, or Fortune, but, whether, like *Numa*, he came from another Country, or was called like *Cincinnatus*, from the Spade and the Plow, they deputed some of their Body, with this their honourable Request, and with a Tender of a grateful and sufficient Contribution to defray the necessary Expences of his Service. For they had not such a Plenty of Patriots in those Days, to lavish Thousands upon Thousands in the Enterprize of an Election——with no other View in Nature, but that of serving their Constituents.

Even since Times, and Manners, and Morals are reversed, since the Custom of *Candidates* hath prevailed in these Kingdoms, and that the freest of Freeholders can generally do no better, than, out of *two or three Evils* to choose the *Least*, we want not some glorious Instances still remembered, still recent, where Electors rejected all who solicited their Voices, and of themselves solicited others, to represent them in Parliament. So honourable a Preference was always answered by an equivalent Service and Attachment, and such *distinguished Names* stand foremost in the Roll of * *Legislators and Patriots*.

I am

* Mr. Shippen, Sir John Bernard, &c.

I am not, however, so sanguine, to expect, that the like Times, or the like Virtues can be at once restored, Customs, long wrought into the Substance of our *Constitution*, became as it were of a Piece with the *Garment*, and may better be picked out with Caution, than rent with Precipitation.

I would therefore advise you, soberly, though resolutely, to set about a Reformation, so necessary to your Country, and so glorious to yourselves.

In the first Place. Be peremptory to reject all Candidates whatsoever, who will not, by a solemn and public Declaration, acknowledge that they accept of this your *Deputation*, not as a Commission of *Independence* but of *Duty*, not as a Matter of *Gift* but of *Trust*, not as a Distinction of *Superiority* but of *Service*.

Such a Recognition, with the Promise of a suitable Conduct annexed, will be an additional Conscience in the Bosom of your Representative, it will be a perpetual Monitor to all his Ways, and such a Strengthening of the Connection between you, as nothing but daring Violence and avowed Apostacy can break.

In the next Place. During the present Season of Influence and Corruption, the most signal Honour which you can render to yourselves, and the most signal Service which you can render to your Country, consists in the Proof, which you are about to give the World, of the unprejudiced, the

the unbiassed, the unrestrained Freedom of your Choice, and, for this Reason, it would be infinitely more laudable to elect the lowest Man, of the lowest Class of Freeholders, among yourselves, than the truest Patriot of the greatest Talents, and Wisdom, and Virtue, when recommended to you by *Influence*, or *obtruded* upon you by *Power*.

I repeat it, that a Demonstration of the perfect Freedom of your Voices is *the one Thing needful* at the present Conjunction, that it may be as a *Bacon* set up on high, of illustrious Notice an Example to all other Electors.

The Necessity of such a Precedent, at such a Time, makes it absolutely incumbent on you to reject a certain Candidate; whatever his Merits or Pretensions may be, as I am informed, at all Hands, that He is a Person of vast Fortune and very powerful Adherents.

Personally to disgrace or vilify any Man, never was my Intention, nor ever will be, till I first learn to bear Ill-will to some one living: I therefore leave Those, who in my Name published their Exceptions to this Gentleman's Character, to reply also to the Apologies that are made in his Behalf.

My Objections are rather pointed against those very *Articles* for which his Friends hold him to be chiefly commendable, I mean his *Wealth* and the *Power* of those who support him.

Those

Those same persuasive Orators stiled *Wealth* and *Power*, those two *Lords of Influence*, those *Invasaders* of all Right, those *Underminers* of all Goodness, those almost *irresistible Conquerors* of Mankind, are the only *formidable Enemies* which Electors have to fear.

From the Beginning to this Day, *Power* hath been the universal *Intruder* upon Privileges, and *Wealth* the universal *Corrupter* of Morals. Against the Invasions of *Power* no Laws have yet been found of sufficient Limitation, and though the Heart should be formed, like the Castle of *Acrisius*, of adamantine Integrity, the *golden Shower* will often insinuate its Temptation. To withstand the First is the glorious Toil of *Liberty*, to refuse the Second is the Task and Test of *Truth*. It is only by *rejecting* the *Allurements* of *Wealth* that any People ever was or ever will be *virtuous*, it is only by *opposing* the *Encroachments* of *Power*, that any Nation ever was or ever will be *free*. What Proof then, my Friends, in the Day of Election, are you likely to give of your *Liberty* or of your *Virtue*, if ye are found to be associated with the *Enemies thereof*?

On the other Hand, Mr. *Caulfield*, as I am told, is no otherwise recommended, than by his own personal Merits and happy Disposition, and by the Example of Ancestors illustrious, from early Times, as well for their extraordinary Sufferings as Atchievements, in the Cause of their Country and of the Protestant Religion.

I can however assign another worthy Motive for any Preference which you may be pleased to appoint in his Favour.

His Youth is, at present, under the Leading and Example of *two Men*, who are an Ornament and Advantage to the declining Age.

The one is * his Brother, now returning from his Travels, more truly ennobled by his Virtue than his Birth, a Gentleman who proves that the Sphere of high Life may be capable of Community and all the social Sentiments; who felt afar off the Calamity of this his Country and largely supplied the Poor in the Day of their Distress; who leaves among Foreigners, in the Remembrance of his Excellencies, an honourable Mention of this the Place of his Nativity; and who brings home to his Countrymen an Assurance of many Benefits, which, through the Promise of such Qualities, we have a Right to require.

The other is a near Kinsman, who hath approved himself the best of Friends and the best of Fathers to that noble Family, whom he hath as truly honoured, as served, by his Alliance.

I shall not, however, at this time give you a Detail of his Virtues, because I am not at leisure to write the History of a Life. I shall rather join the World in censuring him for those *extraordinary*

* Lord Charlemont.

diary Excesses from which his Detractors alledge he is not to be reclaimed ; the *Obstinacy* of his Friendship; the *Extravagance* of his Benevolence, the *Indiscretion* of his Attachment to the Interests of this Country, his *Vain-Glory* in joining the weak and injured Party in every Dispute, and that *romantic Ardour* which pushes him foremost amid the thin Abettors of Liberty and Truth.

Such strong and singular Lineaments, whether blameable or otherwise, leave it needless at present to say, who is their Proprietor : But if the succeeding Age shall think the Picture praiseworthy, they will then honour the Original by the Name of ——— ADDERLEY.

F I N I S.

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F I W I 2

